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Joachim Gentz

“Living in the Same House”

Ritual Principles in Early Chinese Reflections on Mourning Garments

1. Introduction

1.1 Multiple approaches to ritual literature

In recent years, much scholarly attention has been directed towards ritual practice, ritual theory and ritual literature. This has been motivated by diverging research interests, mostly theoretical in nature. Ritual as an etic analytical concept of theoretical interest has only been developed in Europe from the nineteenth century onward and from then on formed the academic reflection on ritual in Western style universities.¹ Within that Western discourse various approaches have been developed out of different research questions and analytic perspectives following the diverse disciplinary interests and personal agendas of individual scholars.² The application of these theories to ritual contexts in prehistory³ or outside of Europe⁴ has also been critically reflected in scholarly debates since the 1960s,⁵ and quite some Western language works on Chinese ritual have been published since.⁶

In contrast, interest in the *practice* of ritual has been the main driving force for most indigenous forms of ritual studies, or “ritualistics”.⁷ *Emic* theoretical interest

1 Cf. Asad 1993.

2 Boudewijnse 1995. Also Bremmer 1998: esp. 14–24. Three important monographies have been published which have collected (Belliger & Krieger 1998) and systematized (Bell 1997; Kreinath & Snoek & Stausberg 2006) the most important Western theoretical approaches to ritual.

3 Cf. Zipf 2003.

4 Cf. Prohl 2003.

5 Cf. Zipf 2003: 11–12. Kreinath & Snoek & Stausberg 2006 regard the year 1966 as a crucial watershed, cf. *ibid.*: vol. 2, xiii.

6 Cf. the following selection of Western publications relevant for his study: Kato 1963; Fehl 1971; Cua 1979; Ames 1988; Jao 1990; Vandermeersch 1990; Hankel 1995; Cook 1997; Pines 2000; Cua 2002; Kline 2002; Hagen 2003; Gentz 2004; 2005; 2006; Jiang 2006; etc. For a rather comprehensive overview on Western publications on Chinese ritual cf. Philip Clarts online bibliographies (2009).

7 For the term “ritualistics”, denoting indigenous forms of ritual studies, see Stausberg 2003. See also Stausberg 2006: xiii.

in ritual therefore mainly focuses on questions of the origin and correct transmission, about meaning and correct understanding of ritual practice. Chinese discourses about details of ancient rites and corresponding correct ritual practice find their earliest literary forms in ritual manuals and treatises produced especially in the (Confucian) *ru* 儒 tradition in the fifth through third centuries BC. Chinese scholarly traditions of ritual studies have their origin in constant discussions on the meaning and correct definition of ritual (*li* 禮) among the hundred schools of thought as they are reflected in the texts of the pre-Qin masters.⁸ The earliest more abstract theoretical treatises on ritual can be found in the texts of the *Liji*⁹ and the *Xunzi*.¹⁰ These early ritual theories, like their further developments induced by political interest in ritual by the emperors Han Xuandi (73–49 BC), Liang Wudi (464–549 AD) and others,¹¹ expressed in works of commentators like Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), through Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) scholars debating ritual reforms,¹² to the philological expertise and *kaozheng* 考證 scholarship of *jingxue* 經學 scholars such as Jiang Yong 江永 (1681–1762), Huang Yizhou 黃以周 (1828–1899), Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936) and others,¹³ have all been motivated by practical, mostly social and political, reasons.¹⁴ In China, Korea and Japan the interest in practical applications of ritual is still relevant for research on ancient Chinese ritual today.

Throughout Chinese literature on ritual, mourning rites occupy a central place. This is evident already in early Chinese ritual literature.¹⁵ In the *The Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial*,¹⁶ the *Yili* 儀禮,¹⁷ the chapters on mourning rites constitute the greatest thematic bloc. Accordingly, a great part of the ritual chapters collected

8 Cf. Wang Qifa 2006.

9 See Michael Puett's contribution in this volume.

10 Cf. Gentz 2004.

11 Cf. Su Zhihong 1990.

12 Cf. Wechsler 1985; McMullen 1987; Meyer 2008. See also Meyer's article in this volume.

13 Cf. Zhou He 1998. Also Ding Ding 2003.

14 Cf. the studies by Christian Meyer 2008; Chow 1994; Wu Wanju 1999; Deng Shengguo 2005; Lin Cunyang 2008; etc.

15 The *DaDai Liji* seems to be an exception because it does not contain a single chapter which solely deals with mourning rites. However, the *DaDai Liji* is known to consist mainly of pastiches and passages from other texts and to have collected material of secondary importance not incorporated into the *Liji*. Texts on mourning issues have obviously be regarded as so important that all of them have been included into the collection of the *Liji*.

16 Thus the title of the only existing English translation of the book published in 1917 by John Steele in London.

17 The *Yili* basically contains descriptions of ceremonies of the *shi*-level, i.e. the lowest level of the aristocracy. It preserves material likely produced in the Eastern Zhou period (1045–256 BC), certain parts of it perhaps dating back as early as the 6th or 5th century BC, and purports to represent the orthodox ritual of the Zhou court. Cf. Boltz 1993: 237.

in the *Book of Rites*,¹⁸ the *Liji*,¹⁹ deal partly or as a whole with the topic of mourning rites.²⁰ Connected to this large complex of diverse rites are rules concerning the time and different stages of mourning, the dwelling place during mourning, the food and music used during different stages of the mourning time, the calling back of the soul of the dead, the positioning and preparation of the dead corpse for the first mourning stage before the funeral, the handing over, taking over, positioning and administration of mourning gifts, different ways of behaviour towards mourning guests of different status, the selection and shaping of the grave, forms and times of wailing, detailed actions and formula as well as ritual actors in the different stages of the funeral ceremony, sacrifices, prayers etc.²¹

Among all the texts on mourning rites one very important, perhaps the most important, part is the highly complex field of mourning garments (*sangfu* 喪服). Of the three chapters²² in the *Yili* on death rituals one chapter, the “Shi sang li”, deals with all the above mentioned details. The second deals especially with the *yu* 虞-ritual which consists of a set of appeasement rituals for the soul of the deceased conducted after the funeral. The third one, titled “Sang fu”, is entirely dedicated to questions of mourning garments. It clearly stands out as the most important of all the 17 *Yili* chapters because it is the only one which “has been extracted and treated as a separate text, both in having a wealth of commentaries written expressly for it alone, and in having an early transmission of its own.”²³ The book catalogue of the *Suishu* lists a total of four entries for the *Yili* and 43 separate titles on Mourning Garments, many of them (especially those first in the list) certainly in a direct commentarial way or in an indirect discursive way related to the Sangfu text. This not only reflects the prominence of mourning garments among all other ritual matters but also the independence and great importance of the Sangfu text *vis à vis* the other chapters of the *Yili*. In the *Liji*, we find a similar special focus on mourning garments. Of the eight chapters which deal with death rituals in the *Liji*²⁴ four

18 Thus the title of the only existing English translation of the book published in 1885 by James Legge in Oxford in Max Mueller’s series “Sacred Books of the East”.

19 The *Liji* xxx. Cf. Riegel 1993.

20 11 out of 46 chapters deal mainly or in great extent with death rituals: “Tan gong 檀弓”, “Sangfu xiaoji 喪服小記”, “Da zhuan 大傳”, “Za ji 雜記”, “Sang daji 喪大記”, “Ben sang 奔喪”, “Wen sang 問喪”, “Fu wen 服問”, “Jian zhuan 間傳”, “Sannian wen 三年問”, “Sangfu sizhi 喪服四制”. Other chapters also contain passages on death rituals.

21 For a collection and analysis of all these details of the first days of ancient Chinese funeral rituals from different early Chinese sources cf. Hankel 1995.

22 I take the “Ji xi li” as a continuation of the “Shi sang li” and not as an own chapter on death rituals.

23 Cf. Boltz 1993: 235.

24 “Sangfu xiaoji 喪服小記”, “Sang daji 喪大記”, “Ben sang 奔喪”, “Wen sang 問喪”, “Fu wen 服問”, “Jian zhuan 間傳”, “Sannian wen 三年問”, “Sangfu sizhi 喪服四制”.

chapters are entirely devoted to questions of mourning garment,²⁵ the other four chapters also deal in great length with that topic, focus in these chapters lies on the garments of the ritual actors and not on those of the guests. Looking at these findings the question arises: Why mourning garments? What gives them such an extraordinary outstanding importance in these texts? Why are mourning garments obviously much more discussed, scholarly so much more interesting and intellectually far more stimulating than all the other fields of ancient rites?

In early Chinese ritual literature the great field of mourning rites seems to be divided into such texts dealing with the correct setup and conduct of the mourning rites from the perspective of the ritual experts or actors, and texts dealing with the proper behaviour of the participants in the ritual.²⁶ This might be one of the reasons why there is such abundant material of the Sangfu-genre, mourning garments being one of the very few ritual matters that related to non ritual experts and had to be explained to the common people. The great attention attached to mourning garments thus seems to lie in the fact that no other element of the complex mourning ritual has the same potential of linking and representing so many different social groups and perhaps also other important aspects of ritual in one single field at the same time.

To prove this hypothesis, I will in the first part of this paper differentiate various social, psychological, economical, political, ethical, cosmological and religious aspects of mourning which find their united expression in the order of mourning garments. Through an application of various ritualogical perspectives that are evident in other early Chinese texts I aim at demonstrating how integrative this topos of mourning garments is in the way it contains and systematizes all these diverse aspects in one system. It is my contention that it is the potential of this system of mourning garments to function as integral expression of so many cultural aspects that has made this text such a particularly important object to scholarly discussion and negotiation of social, political, religious, philosophical, psychological and ethical values throughout the millenia.²⁷

In the second part I will take this approach further into the extant early texts connected to the Sangfu ritual and investigate how the intellectual integration of these various aspects is negotiated in the successive scholarly interpretations of the texts. The Sangfu chapter of the *Yili* as the earliest of all these texts and as an authority to which all subsequent texts refer, will in the light of the analysis of the first part be analysed not as a text describing or prescribing actual mourning prac-

25 “Sangfu xiaoji 喪服小記”, “Fu wen 服問”, “Jian zhuan 間傳”, “Sangfu sizhi 喪服四制”.

26 The whole first part of the “Jian zhuan 間傳” chapter is an attempt to reconcile these two realms through relating specific mourning garments with the six realms of mourning: bodily appearance (rongti 容體), sound of the voice (shengyin 聲音), speech (yanyu 言語), food and drink (yinshi 飲食), dwelling place (juchu 局處) and garment (yifu 衣服).

27 Cf. Lai 2003. Also Ding Ding 2003: 4–7.

tice but as the first attempt to interpret and explain it through definitions and general principles. It thereby creates a “discourse” the growth of which will then be further detected in different stages of textual production of a related literature on mourning garments. The analytical focus will thus not lie on a reconstruction of early Chinese mourning practice but on a reconstruction of an interpretative discourse as reflected in a set of interrelated early Chinese texts on mourning garments. Taking the Sangfu as the earliest reference point of this discourse, I will then proceed to analyse the negotiation of the Sangfu system as it find its expression through six later texts on mourning garments which follow the Sangfu chapter of the *Yili* in a commentarial mode: the appended *ji*-note to the Sangfu (Sangfu ji 喪服記) and the interlinear commentary Sangfu zhuan (喪服傳) which are both direct commentaries to the Sangfu text. And the Sangfu xiaoji (喪服小記), the Da zhuan (大傳), the Fu wen (服問) and the Sangfu sizhi (喪服四制), which are transmitted as chapters 13, 14, 33 and 46 of the *Liji*.

Chinese commentarial literature on ritual texts has been abundant and very well edited²⁸ and explored,²⁹ especially by Chinese and Japanese scholars, in terms of its rich explanations of ritual terminology and material objects. Scholarship has focused on the descriptions contained in the explanatory notes given in the commentarial literature to reconstruct the rules, objects, and forms of ancient Chinese ritual in much detail.³⁰ Little attention, however, has been paid to the commentarial literature as a literary genre itself. We therefore possess very few studies on commentaries as composite texts which apart from their explanative single contributions also carry a further historically specific overall meaning as a particular genre. I will therefore address the question of the different interests, approaches and meanings of different ritual commentaries as texts in their own right, yet interrelated in a common and growing discourse. Detecting a development in a set of

28 One of the earliest big collections of commentaries on the *Yili* has been compiled in the 13th century by Ao Jigong 敖繼公 (fl. 1279–1301): *Yili jishuo* 儀禮集說 in 17 juan, republished in Beijing 2004 in 24 vols. (Chinese traditional style in three boxes). A little earlier Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178–1237) had written a lengthy commentary on the *Yili*: *Yili yao yi* 儀禮要義 in 50 juan, republished in Beijing 2003 in 24 vols. (Chinese traditional style in four boxes).

29 Cf. the bibliographies by Liu Zhaoyou 2003a; 2003b.

30 See, for example the amazingly detailed commentary in 15 vols. on the *Yili* by Kawahara Juichi 川原寿市: *Girei shakkō* 儀禮釋攷, Kyōto: 1958-1960 with vols. 7 and 8 entirely on the Sangfu chapter. For the Sangfu in particular see also the detailed monographs by Kageyama Seiichi 影山誠一, *Mofuku sōsetsu* 喪服總論, Tōkyō: Daitō bunka daigaku, 1969 and *Mofuku keiden chūso hōgi* 「喪服」經傳注疏補義, Tōkyō: Daitō bunka daigaku, 1984 (repr. of 1964 original). Cf. also the two recent monographs by Lin Suying 林素英, *Sangfu zhidu de wenhua yiyi*: yi “Yili Sangfu” wei taolun zhongxin 喪服制度的文化意義: 以《儀禮·喪服》為討論中心, Taipei: Wenjin cbs, 2000 and Ding Ding 丁鼎, “Yili Sangfu” kaolun 《儀禮·喪服》考論, Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian cbs, 2003.

interrelated and inter-referential discourses I will provide evidence of the development of this genre in Early Han.

In order to analyze comparable commentaries I will focus my investigation on the Sangfu-commentarial texts within the ritual books *Yili* and *Liji*. The Sangfu chapter is special in that two early texts are directly appended to it: the *Sangfu ji*, a note added to it, and the interlinear commentary *Sangfu zhuan*. With a copy excavated from a late Western Han (206 BC–8 AD) tomb discovered 1959 in Wuwei, Gansu, the *Sangfu zhuan* is special not only in being one of the very few commentaries found in an early tomb, but also as being the earliest extant commentary inserted into a text in an interlinear mode. The Sangfu chapter is further special in that it provides the basis of a whole range of texts on mourning garments which are collected in the *Liji* and relate to it in a more or less direct way.

Building upon such an extensive literature on mourning garments transmitted in the *Liji*, it is possible to reconstruct a “thick” context of rules, and arguments concerning rules, of mourning garments in these Sangfu-commentarial texts. On the basis of such contextual analysis this paper will demonstrate how commentaries devoted to the *sangfu*-topic argue differently in different stages of exegesis. By comparing the *Sangfu zhuan* to commentaries with similar exegetical features, the specific form of exegetical strategy and the specific method of interpretation can be exposed. I will demonstrate how further commentarial and sub-commentarial explanations of later texts build upon the earlier texts to establish new and more differentiated modes of interpretation on mourning garments through the invention of new explanation principles which question the kinship system as the sole guiding principle of social relations and move other aspects of representation in the centre of focus.

In a conclusion I will lay out the different exegetical voices of the various commentaries and will reconstruct the dynamics of the development of their exegetical strategies as connected to changing historical usages of the ritual literature. A hypothesis on a relative dating of these texts shall follow from this analysis at the end.

2. Mourning garments as integrative systems of signs

On the basis of ritual discussions in early Chinese texts such as the *Mozi*, the *Mengzi*, the *Xunzi* and the *Lunyu*, I would like to differentiate eight different ritual perspectives on particular aspects that can be reflected and conceptualized through the specific choice of mourning garments.

1. Social relationships: The most obvious aspect expressed through mourning garments is the social relationship between the mourning person and the dead person. The expression of kinship relation is one

of the most basic functions of mourning garments. The “Feiru 非儒”-chapter of the *Mozi* begins with a critique against a specific hierarchy of family relationships as it is expressed through the mourning rules of the Ruists, and clearly notes the contradictions which are caused by the combination of different grading criteria such as close and distant kinship (*qinshu* 親疏) and honorable and low position (*zunpo* 尊卑).³¹ However, since social relationships are defined differently within different social systems such as the professional, the political and the kinship contexts, the contexts of family succession, friendship, gender and age, the mourning garments also reflect the relative grades of the social relationships from these different contexts. To give an example: the ritual regulations have to define garments for the mourning of a ruler as well as garments for the mourning of a family member, a successor, a colleague or a friend. Following this differentiation of social systems, different sorts of mourning garments could be designed for each of the basic social systems. This, however, would be too complicated since only ritual specialists would be able to decide which garment is appropriate in a given case, and no one would recognize the meaning of the mourning garments anymore. Moreover, it would further complicate the regulations of cases where several mourning rules would apply to one and the same mourner at the same time. The mourning garments are thus reduced to five basic garments which in the case of the Sangfu-text are further differentiated into eleven garments. These five or eleven garments have to be applied to all existing social systems which mean that the social systems become comparable through compatible degrees of social relations as defined through the garments. The mourning garments thus function as a common signifier for social

31. 儒者曰：「親親有術，尊賢有等。」言親疏尊卑之異也。
其禮曰：「喪父母三年，妻，後子三年，伯父叔父弟兄庶子其(期)，戚族人五月。」
若以親疏為歲月之數，則親者多而疏者少矣，是妻後子與父同也。
若以尊卑為歲月數，則尊其妻與父母同，而親伯父宗兄而卑子也。
逆孰大焉。

“When the Ruists say: ‘treatment of relatives has degrees, respect towards worthies has grades’ they speak about the differences between close and distant relatives and between the honored and the humble. Their code of rites says: ‘Mourning for a father or mother should last three years; for a wife or eldest son, three years; for a paternal uncle, brother, or younger son, one year; and for other close relatives, five months.’ If it is closeness and distance that determines the number of years and months of mourning, then it is longer for closer and shorter for distant relatives. This means that wife and eldest son are equally close to the father. If it is the respectable and lower positions that determine the number of years and months of mourning, then this not only means that wife and eldest son are respected to the same degree as are father and mother, but that paternal uncles and brothers are regarded as low in position as the younger sons. What could be more perverse than that!” See also the translation by Watson 1967: 124.

relationships of different social systems. It is obvious, I think, that through the correlation of different degrees of mourning garments with different social relationships also different qualities of social relationships are compared. To take up the case of the father and the ruler again, in the *Sangfu*-text, the social relationships with the father and the ruler both count as relationships of utmost respect (*zhi zun* 至尊). Equally, the relationships between a wife or a concubine and her husband count as relationships of utmost respect whereas the one between a husband and his wife counts as one of utmost intimacy (*zhi qin* 至親) which is ranked two degrees lower in the *sangfu* system. The compatibility of mourning within the first degree of the *sangfu* system might thus be defined as the sort of mourning which in any relevant social system is expressed towards the utmost respectable person. We may then conclude that there are several social systems which are regarded as equally important, namely the family system, the political system and the system of family succession. Aspects of gender and age cut through these systems of which they form implicit parts.

2. Emotions: Following the ritual theory of the *Xunzi* (“*Li lun*” chapter) many of the ritual texts, especially those on mourning, define the function of rites as the regulation of human feelings or emotions (*qing* 情).³² From this perspective, the mourning garments are considered as expressions of human feelings of mourning. At the same time, they help to regulate the sometimes prevailing sad feelings of mourners in a social and cultural appropriate way and protect them from the pressures of the social norms of a non-mourning context. According to this perspective, the *sangfu*-system reflects different emotional degrees of mourning. As far as I am aware, there is no reflection about different qualities of mourning apart from these degrees. The question, for example, whether mourning for the ruler, for the father, for the heir and for the husband – which in each case requires the first degree of mourning garments – has similar emotional qualities is nowhere posed. However, following the conclusion from the first point above, the emotions would be comparable in being the specific mourning feelings directed towards the most respectable person in equally relevant social systems. Connected to the system of emotions is another important point of the *sangfu*-system, namely its proceeding through different periods of time. Like the ritual regulations regarding mourning diet, dwelling place or going to work, the mourning periods of the *sangfu*-

³² This theory is especially important in reflexive ritual texts on music, poetry and mourning. Cf. Gentz 2001: 300–303.

system are often grounded and explained in terms of the process of waning mourning emotions. The garments are expressions of grief comparable to the expression of a face, they may be taken as physiological expressions of the mourning body represented through ritual garments.³³

3. Socio-economical wealth: The quality of mourning garments reflects the social and economic wealth of the person wearing them. By displaying the economic potential of the mourner hidden in the nuances of the quality of the hempen cloth the garment shows not only the social relationship to the deceased person but at the same time the social status of the person wearing it. In the chapter on “Moderation in Funerals” (*Jie zang* 節葬) the *Mozi* attacks all too elaborate funerals as harming state and society, and in his chapter “Against Ruists” he criticises all too complex burials as meaningless hypocrisies. In his view, idleness and pride are the reasons for excessive rituals. The vehemence with which he argues against elaborate funerals and the fact that he devotes a whole chapter to this matter show the importance of this issue at that time.
4. Knowledge and education: The correct observation of mourning ritual expresses the mourner’s degree of education and ritual knowledge, hence the degree of her or his personal cultivation is expressed through the way she or he pays attention to the proper and accurate dressing. The *Lunyu* contains several sayings of Confucius in which he criticises unlearned practices of rites and time and again emphasizes learning as essential for the proper conduct of rites. The way he discusses his observations of other people carrying out rituals clearly indicates that the level of learning of the ritual actor is obvious for him when participating at a ritual. In the same way a number of accounts in the *Mengzi*, the *Mozi* and other books take funeral customs as indicative of the level of cultivation or barbarism of people from different countries.
5. Moral and political position: Following particular mourning rites and not others is an expression of the mourner’s position in regard to different conceptions of ritual, moral and political order. Since any ritual code represents a very specific concept of socio-political and moral order, any adoption of its rules is at the same time an own positioning. In his “Moderation in Funerals”, the *Mozi* formulates two of such extreme positions which at the same time represent philosophical and political positions of different schools. The texts which I am going to analyse in the second part of this chapter negotiate such positions. All great

33 Cf. the reflections in the first part of the “Jian zhuan” chapter of the *Liji*.

scholarly debates on ritual in Chinese history discuss different positions in political affairs.³⁴

6. Value principles: The ritual order of the *sangfu*-system is strictly hierarchical. The hierarchy is based on a set of value criteria which are either implicit or can be defined as ritual principles. The mourning garments thus also express value principles. This point follows from point five, and the *Mozi* quote in the footnote above clearly reflects this point.
7. Cosmological order. In Many ritual texts analogies between ritual order and cosmological order are taken to explain the correctness of certain rites. In the “Sangfu sizhi” chapter of the *Liji* the *sangfu*-system is also explained in cosmological terms. Thus, a cosmological order can also be expressed by the *sangfu*-system.³⁵
8. Religious effects. There are some passages in early ritual texts such as the *Shi yu li* 士虞禮 chapter of the *Yili* which relate the mourning rites to the soul of the deceased.³⁶ In this perspective, the mourning garments have the function of appeasing the wandering soul through the proper ritual behaviour.

These are eight different aspects which can be reflected and conceptualized through the specific choice of mourning garments. Each of these eight aspects can be inferred from the ritual texts from late Zhanguo and Han times. The system of mourning garments had thus the potential to express social, political, psychological, economic, ethical, ritual and religious discourses at the same time.

3. Discourses on the system of mourning garments

3.1 The “Sangfu”-chapter

The difficult and highly complicated task of any system of mourning garments is the arrangement of these different aspects into a harmonious all encompassing *sangfu*-system. The “Sangfu”-chapter of the *Yili* is the most well known early attempt to establish such an all-enclosing system. It operates with three distinct social systems: the family system, the political system and the system of family succession, and differentiates eleven sets of mourning garments. The text sometimes reflects the asymmetry of the correlations of kinship relations and grades of

34 Cf. Christian Meyer’s article in this volume.

35 Cf. Lai 2003: 73–91. See also my analysis of the Mawangdui funeral banner: Gentz 2009.

36 In his chapter “Against Ruists” the *Mozi* calls Ruists hypocrites because they climb the roofs of their houses to call back the soul of the deceased and look into every mousehole to find the soul although they exactly know that nothing is going to happen.

mourning garments through commentarial remarks like: this garment is worn in order to “match [the garment of a higher ranking guest with whom one is visiting the funeral]” (*bao* 報) or: when there is “no one [else] to lead the sacrifices” (*wu zhu zhe* 無主者), or when someone was “living together” (*tong ju* 同居) with the deceased. The text thus first displays clear signals that there are cases where some of the garments do not correspond to the proper ranks as defined by the regular social systems. It secondly offers hints as to how to solve these deviations of social rank and mourning rank. The text thus shows that it proposes not a perfect construction of an ideal system of social rank and *sangfu* correspondences but that it rather reflects a correct ritual practice which yet has to take into account, and be further explained by, principles that lie beyond the frame of the social ranking system. Hence the text first of all informs the reader that part of its message, namely the ritual order conveyed through it, may be based in principles that lie outside the social ranking systems. And secondly, it makes itself into a commentary on a ritual practice and thus adopts an exegetical mode. The *Sangfu* may thus be taken as an early textual commentary to existing social practices. As Guolong Lai has shown, the Mawangdui Diagram of Mourning Garments, the *Sangfu tu* 喪服圖 can be regarded as an earlier version in form of a diagram that tried to systematize only kinship relations of the first three grades in a system of mourning garments.³⁷ The more complicated task of systematizing more grades of kinship relationship and also further social systems within a singular *sangfu*-system, like the *Sangfu* text does, requires a much more sophisticated ordering frame. Since the combination of distinct social systems in a complex group of mourning guests leads to a greater number of possible cases of mourning relationships, the text has to cover more definitions of mourning garments for the various possible social forms. Because the ranking of social status was not only defined through the correlation of social systems but further depended on elements such as cohabitation, age, family name etc. the possibilities were not calculable in a mathematical way but rather could be further developed in endless casuistic constellations. As a consequence, lacunae were necessarily left in the system and provoked problems that had to be solved through additional notes to the text, additional texts and specifying commentaries.

37 Guolong Lai has argued that the Diagram of Mourning Garments, the *Sangfu tu* 喪服圖 which was excavated from tomb no. 3 in Mawangdui represents an older layer of a mourning system than the *Sangfu*-text from the *Yili*. The main difference lays, as he demonstrates, in the missing “differentiations between the principal line and the branches, and hence the eldest son and other sons. Non-kin relations are not included. Moreover, the mourning for the wives of all the male kin (including mothers), minors, and outside relatives are not presented. In addition, all the mourning periods for father, son, grandfather, father’s brother, brother, and so on are one grade shorter than those prescribed in the *Yili*. This is because these inscriptions describe only the basic mourning system and include only the closest relatives within three generations that are needed to establish a system.” Cf. Lai 2003: 59. He further notes that in contrast to the later Han systems in the Mawangdui system “the women’s mourning is not affected by their martial status” (ibid.: 72).

3.2 The commentaries on the “Sangfu”-chapter

There are different types of commentarial texts to the Sangfu text, some of them directly referring to the text: a note (*ji* 記) and an interlinear commentary (*zhuan* 傳), some of them forming a sort of commentarial context like a number of chapters in the *Liji* in the form of notes (*ji* 記), commentaries (*zhuan* 傳), questions (*wen* 問) and a systematical approach (*zhi* 制). They represent different exegetical modes. Some of them, however, take up, and further develop, the exegetical hints given by the Sangfu text itself.

3.3 “Sangfu ji 喪服記”

First of all there is a passage at the end of the Sangfu text introduced by the term “*ji* 記” (note) which seems to function as a title marking a different text which had been added later to the Sangfu text. This note added to the Sangfu text is no exception, 13 out of 17 chapters of the *Yili* have such “*ji* 記”-notes at their end. The note of the *Yili* chapter on capping “*Shi guan li*” is instructive since it contains a Confucius quote and thus positions itself in a Confucian discursive context. Furthermore, the whole note from the *Shi guan li*, which in the note-text is formulated as a quote from a text called “*Guan yi*”, is also fully quoted in the “*Jiao te sheng*” chapter of the *Liji*, and one passage of the note is also quoted in the “*Guanyi*” chapter of the *Liji*.³⁸ The beginning of the note of the “*Ji xi*” chapter of the *Yili* has also a short parallel in the beginning of the “*Sang daji*” chapter of the *Liji*.³⁹ If these notes of the *Yili* chapters represent a coherent commentarial layer and can thus be compared, they seem to have existed as independent free floating text passages before they were then included or appended to other texts. The Sangfu *ji*-note contains more ritual regulations concerning further special cases of mourning such as cases when someone dies in a foreign country, when two persons die at the same time, when a grave has to be transferred to another place or when an uncapped youth has to lead the ceremony since there is no one else who can do it etc. It also contains more specified descriptions on the detailed production and outlook of certain mourning garments. It mentions the explanatory principle of “matching” (*bao* 報) but does not introduce new basic exegetical principles. Thus on the one hand it basically continues the Sangfu text and fills in casuistic and regulative gaps of the ritual rules left open by it. On the other hand, however, it expands two of the basic systems of the Sangfu: first: it adds a new social system, namely the system of friends which is not dealt with in the Sangfu text. Second, it introduces a new class of clothes, the clothes for a *gongzi* (公子), prince. All in all, the note added to the Sangfu text is basically a commentary in the form of an additional text which con-

38 Cf. Sun Xidan 1989: 702–706, 1412.

39 Cf. Hu Peihui 1993: 1913; Sun Xidan 1989: 1128.

tinues it and expands it a little further within the explanatory frame provided by the Sangfu text. The fact that the *zhuan*-commentary which comments on the Sangfu text also comments on the *ji*-note shows that the note was considered by the *zhuan*-commentary to be part of, and on the same level of, authority as the Sangfu text.

As concerns further texts of the *ji*-genre. The title of the *Liji* defines it as a collection of *ji* 記-notes to rites. It contains several chapters which are defined as notes to different ritual matters. Among those chapters there are three chapters on death rites. One of them, the Sangfu xiaoji (smaller notes to mourning garments), deals entirely with mourning garments. The two other chapters, the Sang daji chapter (greater notes to the mourning procedure) and great parts of the Za ji chapter (miscellaneous notes), generally deal with funeral rites.⁴⁰ The *ji*-notes of the general chapters on funeral and mourning rites are collections of descriptive rank oriented prescriptions on every detail of action which should respond to the process of the death of a person. They start at the moment of heavy illness and reach up to the time after the burial. They are ordered chronologically according to the ritual process and do not contain any explanations or exegetical interpretations of the regulations. The smaller *ji*-notes of the chapter on mourning garments, the Sangfu xiaoji, also contains many of such descriptive notes which, very much like the *ji*-note-part at the end of the Sangfu text, regulate in detail even more particular cases and special circumstances. Two things are especially interesting about these notes. First, one of the notes which repeats a ritual rule from the Sangfu text indicates that those notes were not especially written as additions to the Sangfu text but possibly rather stem from one or several independent sources of mourning regulations which were compiled in a way as to accomplish the given rules of the basic Sangfu text. The second interesting discovery is that many of the *ji*-notes are taken up in the explanations of the *zhuan*-commentary of the Sangfu. Thus we may infer that the Sangfu *zhuan* drew on a text or a text corpus which also provided the basis for the compilation of the Sangfu xiaoji. Interesting is also that some of the Sangfu

40 It is striking that the chapter exclusively dealing with mourning rites does not contain any rules on mourning garments – only regulations of the garments of the ritual actors (the same is true for the mourning chapters in the *Yili*. Since the Za ji chapter contains all sort of miscellaneous rites we also find a passage on mourning garments in there). Hence funeral rites and mourning garments seem to have been two entirely separated fields of ritual expertise. Although identical systems of time periods, social ranks and kinship relations (represented through different degrees of positioning, locations, gifts, styles etc.) in the funeral rites are interlocked in the same way as in the field of mourning garments, there are no cross references in between the system of the mourning rites which regulate the dealing with the dead corpse and the social and diplomatic etiquette on the one hand and the system of the mourning garments on the other hand side. The first part of the Jian *zhuan* chapter of the *Liji* is a systematical attempt to combine these two realms through connecting specific mourning garments with the six different spheres of mourning: bodily appearance (*rongti* 容體), sound of the voice (*shengyin* 聲音), speech (*yanyu* 言語), drinking and eating (*yinshi* 飲食), dwelling-place (*juchu* 局處), dresses and garments (*yifu* 衣服).

xiaoji rules can be found in the *Gongyang zhuan* and *Zuo zhuan*,⁴¹ and the Da zhuan chapter of the *Liji* also contains numerous verbatim parallels. Looking at these different *ji*-texts we may for our context first of all define a text genre that might probably be the earliest first and very basic commentarial genre of *ji*-notes which these chapters constitute, the basic characteristics of which is the descriptive and additive mode of ritual prescriptions which continue, expand and try to complete the text.

3.4 “Sangfu zhuan 喪服傳”

The second important commentarial genre to the Sangfu text is an interlinear commentary called *zhuan*. The Sangfu zhuan is the only interlinear commentary that has been excavated from early tombs so far. Of the three versions of the Sangfu text which seem to date from late Early Han, excavated 1959 in a Han tomb (possibly also Wang Mang period) in Mozuizi (磨嘴子) at Wuwei in Gansu,⁴² one version consisted only of the plain Sangfu-chapter and two versions contained the Sangfu zhuan. This proves first that the *zhuan* was not original part of the Sangfu text and second that it was written before Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200) who had been assumed to be the author of the commentary. The Sangfu zhuan is partly written in a dialogical form in which questions are posed which rather than real questions are markers of such words, sentences or text passages which the commentator finds striking and worth commenting upon because they otherwise would escape the reader’s attention. The questions thereby open the exegetical stage for commentarial explorations. Since the text itself provides no hints for the peculiarity of these textual locations the commentarial insertions into the text are based on an authoritative knowledge and not on a formal or structural plausibility which is based in the text itself like we find it, for example, in the exegetical strategy of the *Chunqiu* commentaries.⁴³

The Sangfu zhuan does not add any new cases but comments on terms, expressions, sentences and text passages of the Sangfu text. This commentary follows different exegetical strategies and seems to be an edition of different older exegetical materials. It contains glosses on terms, explanatory definitions of ritual details and dialogical parts in a question-answer scheme which analyze the meaning of the text. This combination of glosses, explanatory narrative and dialogical analytical exegesis reminds very much to the *Gongyang* and *Guliang* commentaries which also belong to the commentarial genre of *zhuan* and use similar formulations. The glosses are sometimes formulated in dialogical form and sometimes as proposi-

41 Cf. *Gongyang zhuan* Zhuang 1.3, Xi 8.4; *Zuo zhuan* Xi 8.4.

42 Cf. Gansu sheng bowuguan, *Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo* 2005. Cf. also *Wuwei Kankan shakubun* 1972.

43 Cf. Gentz 2001.

tions. This even differs within the versions of the Sangfu zhuan as discovered in the Wuwei tomb in 1959 and as transmitted in the *Yili*.⁴⁴ This might point to the possibility that the glosses were taken over from glossaries as parallels with other texts also suggest.⁴⁵ The explanative passages might stem from ritual handbooks, notes or lists which consisted of detailed descriptions of ritual tools, instruments and garments. We already mentioned that the Sangfu zhuan has many passages in parallel with the *ji*-notes from the Sangfu xiaoji which it probably copied from this text or from the same text corpus this text was compiled of. The dialogical questions about the meaning of text passages, however, follow the exegetic strategy which the Sangfu text itself had indicated and which is now further unfolded, developed and extended by the Sangfu zhuan. The Sangfu zhuan thereby establishes the Sangfu text as a system which does not solely convey an order of social rank but which also transmit basic ritual principles which have to be discovered and displayed by the commentary in order to explain the proper order of the text. Apart from the three principles of, first, matching accompanying persons, second, acting as a manager of sacrifice for persons who do not have anyone else to act and, third, cohabitating, established by the Sangfu text in the first place, the commentary further introduces a whole series of new ritual principles. These principles enable the commentary to insert two new layers of meaning into the text. First, it defines passages of deviations between social and ritual rank. The Sangfu zhuan thereby redefines the system of social rank through its claim of correspondence or deviation with the ritual rank. Second, it introduces a whole set of ritual principles and thereby inserts its own ritual theory into the old text. The principles are marked through their repetitious formulations alleging through their repetitive occurrence that the principle indeed is a basic principle of the text. Some of the main principles to which the commentary refers time and again are the following:

- The principle of honour or respect or authority (*zun* 尊). The most respectful mourning garments are worn for the most respectful persons of the different relevant social systems. The authority of the family leader is based on a further principle, the principle that the family may not be allowed to lapse (*bu ke yi jue* 不可以絕).

44 In both versions of the “Sang fu (Fu zhuan)” chapter which were excavated from a Han tomb 1959 in Wuwei and include the *zhuan* commentary the commentary writes at the beginning of the chapter: “‘Frayed’ means ‘it is not hemmed’ 斬者，不習 (with silk radical).” Cf. *Wuwei Kankan shakubun* 1972: 3 and 41: “Qie 習 (with silk radical)” is a variant for 緝 緝”. Cf. also Wang Niansun's subcommentary to that passage in *Guangya* 廣雅 as quoted in *Hanyu da cidian*: vol. 9, 1012. In the transmitted version of the *Yili*, however, the commentary comments the same passage as follows: “What does ‘frayed’ mean? It is not hemmed 斬者何，不緝也.” Cf. *Yili*, p. 1346.

45 Cf. Gentz 2001: 366–371.

- The principle of following the mourning garments of an authority or the order of an authority, for example Y does not dare to diminish what an authority X does not diminish (X之所不降 . Y亦不敢降也).
- Somehow connected, the principle of belonging to the same body (*yu zun zhe (wei) yiti* 與尊者(為)一體).
- Taking social roles, not kinship relations as criteria (不敢殊也).
- The principle of being intimate, close (*qin* 親).
- The same family name (*yi ming fu* 以名服).
- The three following principle for wives (*furen you sancong zhi yi* 婦人有三從之義): before marriage she obeys her father, after marriage her husband, and when he is dead, her son.
- The principle of downgrading one rank of a guest who is not directly related to the deceased but only accompanying another guest (*congfu* 從服).
- The principle to keep with the people (*yu min tong ye* 與民同也).
- Moreover there is the basic principle of analogy of ranks of different relationships: the father is like the ruler, the father is like Heaven, to the child as to his wife, the concubine serves her husband like a wife serves her parents in law (妾之事女君 . 與婦之事舅姑等) etc.

As basic principles we can thus differentiate the relationships of kinship, social rank and personal intimacy, of age, gender, dwelling place, name, living context, pragmatic context, political needs etc.

To summarize this second stage of commentarial development within the Sangfu context, we may thus take the *zhuan*-commentary as a commentary which in its combination of glosses, explanatory narrative and analytical exegesis tries to attain two main aims: first, it tries to clarify the descriptive text-layer of ritual material and action by explaining terms and ritual material contexts. Second, it aims at giving intellectual reasons for the correctness of the rites by giving general and comprehensive principles as further and deeper foundation and entanglement of the isolated single rites of the Sangfu text. It thereby inserts its own ritual principles into the reading of the text. Although it introduces a series of principles, it does, however, not reflect on its own principles in an abstract way.

3.5 “Sangfu xiaoji 喪服小記”

The Sangfu xiaoji chapter which we mentioned in the context of the additive *ji*-note-commentaries is probably the first text to formulate such principles in a more general way within the context of mourning garments. In addition to the *ji*-notes which in the title of the Sangfu xiaoji lead to its classification as a text of the *ji*-genre the Sangfu xiaoji contains further exegetical layers. In these parts the Sangfu xiaoji differs from the *ji*-notes in being far more analytical and explanatory. These

more analytical commentarial parts can be differentiated into three different basic exegetical modes. *First*, explanations of mourning regulations in the way the Sangfu zhuan provides them, too, giving exegetic principles as basis of the rules. *Second*, and here it goes one step beyond the exegetical horizon of the Sangfu zhuan, it reflects on the principles of the ritual order. We find in the Sangfu xiaoji a first systematization of principles which we do not find in the Sangfu zhuan. The Sangfu xiaoji defines a set of four basic principles according to which ranks of mourning garments are differentiated: intimacy 親親, authority 尊尊, age 張張, and gender 男女之別. Although the Sangfu zhuan made use of these basic principles in its interpretation it had not defined them explicitly as a set of principles as the Sangfu xiaoji does.

3.6 “Da zhuan 大傳”

We find them, however, either in exact parallels or in further elaborated forms in the Da zhuan chapter of the *Liji*. The Da zhuan chapter takes another step of exegetical abstraction and further de-contextualizes these principles using the same categories as abstract principles in a political context as something whereupon no changes could be enjoined by a ruler. Regarding the art of garments (*fushu* 服術) it then uses a further elaborated set of six expressions: intimacy 親親, authority 尊尊, family name 名, living in the same house or having moved elsewhere 出入, age 長幼, the system of downgrading according to gender, age or kinship relation 從服.⁴⁶ To explain the last of these expressions: 從服 it again differentiates six categories⁴⁷ whereas the Sangfu xiaoji only defines two. I shall not go into further details in order not to confuse the reader. The next important step which the Da zhuan takes within the commentarial development is that it formulates all these ordering principles not only for the context of mourning garments where they originally probably were developed, as the Sangfu xiaoji suggests, but expands them as abstract principles to the whole realm of ritual rules. The Da zhuan therefore is in my view a later more systematized and more sophisticated commentary on ritual ordering principles.

46 Guolong Lai has argued that these six principles should be divided into two sets. Given the many more principles which we found in the Sangfu zhuan I do not think that this is a reasonable differentiation.

47. 從服有六：有屬從，有徒從，有從有服而無服，有從無服而有服，有從重而輕，有從輕而重。There are six kinds of relationships in regard to downgrading: kinship relations, social relations, an grade of downgrading which for certain reasons (taboo, hierarchy etc.) can not be followed by another mourner, a grade of downgrading which for certain reasons (taboo, hierarchy etc.) can not be accepted by the direct guest, the downgraded person being in a lighter position, the downgraded person being in a heavier position (because of formal criteria like family name, age, or gender). Cf. Sun Xidan 1989: 912.

3.7 “Fu wen 服問”

An interesting point about this abstraction process of the Da zhuan chapter is that the whole first part of the following Fu wen chapter (asking about garments) is an attempt at re-contextualizing the abstract principles of the Da zhuan by explicitly citing the Da zhuan as “*zhuan yue* 傳曰” and then giving concrete examples from the context of mourning garments for some of the principles formulated in an abstract way by the Da zhuan. The Fu wen can thus be taken as a re-contextualizing commentary to a de-contextualizing commentary (such as the Da zhuan) which again is a further step of exegetical complexity. Moreover, it also further differentiates and specifies the principles formulated by the Da zhuan and hence further develops them.

3.8 “Sangfu xiaoji 喪服小記”

Let us turn back to the Sangfu xiaoji and look at its *third* important exegetical layer which then will lead us to the last Sangfu related chapter of the *Liji*, the Sangfu sizhi. The Sangfu zhuan had already drawn an analogy between father and Heaven. Using this analogy, it argues that a wife has to follow the three following principle (*sancong* 三從). Now the Sangfu xiaoji further develops this analogy in the realm of Heavenly seasons through connecting the mourning periods with the natural periods of the cosmological cycle. This is a further way to explain rites through analogical reference to another system and constitutes a third exegetical strategy of this complex chapter.

3.9 “Sangfu sizhi 喪服四制”

The Sangfu sizhi which seems to be a patchwork of very different text layers,⁴⁸ correlates the changing of mourning garments not only to the cosmological principle of the changes of the four seasons (*sishi* 四時) but also to the four emotional principles of kindness (*en* 恩), ordering patterns (*li* 理), regulations (*jie* 節) and acting according to circumstances (*quan* 權), which are then further correlated to the four basic Confucian ethical values of humanity (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), rituality (*li* 禮) and wisdom (*zhi* 知).⁴⁹ Referring to the principle which also had been formulated in the Sangfu xiaoji and the Da zhuan of honouring the honoured (*zun zun* 尊尊) it then applies this principle to equate father and ruler as an exam-

48 A big part of this last *Liji*-chapter is identical with a part of the “Ben ming 本命” chapter 39 of the *DaDai Liji* 大戴禮記. In several passages it quotes the Sangfu zhuan, it also quotes the *Shangshu* 尚書. Other parts are so heterogeneous that the Qianlong 乾隆 editors contended that it could not have been in the original compilation of the *Liji*. Cf. Legge 1885: 59.

49 喪有四制。變而從宜。取之四時也。有恩。有理。有節。有權。取之人情也。恩者仁也。理者義也。節者禮也。權者知也。仁義禮知。人道具矣。

ple for the realization of righteousness (*yi*). The Sangfu sizhi thus correlates and thereby combines several different systems of reference, interlocks elements of these different systems with one another and then inserts ritual rules from the Sangfu tradition in this multilayered combined system. It creates new connotations of the Sangfu regulations through basing and interweaving it into the web of the most basic Confucian value systems of ancient China.

4. Conclusion

First of all, I have conducted the reader through a jungle of texts in regard to their textual dating and editorial reliability being very well aware that we are moving on thin ice in terms of the reliability of the texts. Second, I have worked biased in assuming a development within the different commentarial layers which I have distinguished in regard to a Sangfu topos as an imagined center of these texts. In fact only few of the texts clearly show a text-commentary relationship as we would expect it from the classical concept of text and commentary. Yet, the multi-voiced discourse on the *sangfu* system relates to earlier (textual and non textual) conceptions and arguments and therefore first of all can be analysed within the frame of a commentarial thema-rhema relationship. Moreover, if we assume that the texts refer to a common valid set of ritual rules defined in the Sangfu text any debate on the correct interpretation aims at establishing an orthodox version of the rules and thus should be interpreted within the traditional frame of the concept of (canonical) text and commentary. If we accept that a development can be assumed throughout the texts, I will now finally try to propose something like an exegetical development in six stages for the commentarial texts which at least in its distinctions might appear plausible to some readers.

1. A commentary collects further casual evidence in the material field of the text. It thereby enriches, expands and tries to complete the text.
2. A commentary clarifies uncertain terms and descriptions on a linguistic, grammatical and lexicographical basis. It establishes basic and comprehensive principles to explain propositions of the text.
3. A commentary summarizes and reflects basic principles in a set of closed principles.
4. A commentary de-contextualizes the set of principles and defines them into an abstract set of principles which is widely applicable to other realms.
5. A commentary re-contextualizes the set of principles creating a new potential of these principles for being valid beyond the frame of the specific context whereby the context gains a greater validity.

6. A commentary interweaves basic principles into cosmological, ethical, philosophical, political or other systems through analogy and thereby fixes them in a complex worldview.

There seems within the dynamics of the exegetical development of the Sangfu commentaries to be a movement which more and more focuses on principles which are not explicitly expressed in the text but are rather inserted into the text in a first step, systematized in a second and then connected to other ruling value systems whereby the original text in its single exegetical partitions can be applied to present usage in different contexts. In this special case we can see commentarial and sub-commentarial attempts to establish new and more differentiated modes of interpretation on mourning garments through the invention of new principles which more and more disregard the kinship system as the sole guiding principle of social relations. Instead they introduce new value principles into the realm of human relationships. They thereby reflect a new approach towards an all too rigid system of human relationships as based on the kinship system and promote new perspectives on defining relationships on the basis of other systems based on new ritual principles which emerged during the late Zhou period and slowly through the intellectual work of many generations found their way into the reading of the old texts. These new perspectives appear also in other spheres of intellectual activity like the political field, the field of law and others. In an analysis of the exegetical layers of the *Chunqiu* tradition I was able to demonstrate a similar exegetical development starting from the *Gongyang zhuan* through the different early chapters of the *Chunqiu fanlu* to the sub-commentary of He Xiu.⁵⁰ This gives us some further confidence that the model of exegetical development applied to these undatable texts is plausible and might provide a basis for further explorations into the complex realm of early Chinese ritual texts.

⁵⁰ Cf. Gentz 2001. Cf. also Gentz 2008.

Relevant *Liji* chapters

Sangfu xiaoji 喪服小記: contains *ji*-notes as well as systematic series of terms and cosmological associations

Da zhuan 大傳: contains abstracted systematic series of terms from the Sangfu xiaoji

Za ji 雜記: contains *ji*-notes to mourning rites, mourning garments and other rites, no explanations

Sang daji 喪大記: contains *ji*-notes to mourning rites, not to mourning garments

Wen sang 問喪: contains descriptions on mourning procedure with special emphasis on the emotional states, has questions and explicative answers on ritual details.

Fu wen 服問: takes up the abstracted systematic series of terms from the Da zhuan and recontextualizes them for the concrete context of mourning garments

Jian zhuan 間傳: The first part connects different variants of sorrow to different forms of appearance as it exists within the different fields of mourning.

Sangfu sizhi 喪服四制: combines different cosmological and ethical systems and connects them to rules of mourning garments.

Relevant *Yili* chapters

Sang fu 喪服 with appended *ji* 記 note and *zhuan*-commentary: Sang fu zhuan 喪服傳

Shi sang li 士喪禮 describes details of the mourning process

Ji xi li 既夕禮 continuation of Shi sang li

Shi yu li 士虞禮 describes appeasement rituals for the deceased soul after the burial

Different genres of commentaries

note (*ji* 記)

interlinear commentary (*zhuan* 傳)

question (*wen* 問)

systematical approach (*zhi* 制)

Sangfu xiaoji and Da zhuan principles

intimacy 親親

authority 尊尊

age 長長

gender 男女之別

Da zhuan principles

intimacy 親親

authority 尊尊

family name 名

living within the same house or having moved elsewhere 出入

age 長幼

the system of downgrading 從服.

Sangfu sizhi correlative systems

four seasons (*sishi* 四時)

four emotional principles: kindness (*en* 恩), ordering patterns (*li* 理), regulations (*jie* 節)

acting according to circumstances (*quan* 權)

four ethical values: humanity (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), rituality (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 知)

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